

THE  
ANTIQUITY  
OF THE  
Protestant Religion:  
WITH AN  
ANSWER  
TO  
Mr. *Sclater's* REASONS,  
AND THE  
COLLECTIONS  
Made by the Author of the Pamphlet  
ENTITLED  
NUBES TESTIUM  
*By David Pellings. &c.*  
In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

The First Part.

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THE  
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With an Answer to Mr. *Sclaters*  
Reasons, and the Collections made by  
the Author of the Pamphlet entitled  
*Nubes Testium.*

S I R,

WHEN I receiv'd your Letter,  
I did at first a little wonder,  
that such a knowing per-  
son should desire me to give a plain and  
particular proof of that Point which we  
Protestants do stand upon, that our Re-  
ligion was *Anciently* and *Generally* profess'd  
in the Christian World, *before* the Refor-  
mation. For the matter seems so clear to  
those who converse with Books, and will  
not suffer themselves to be govern'd by  
partiality of judgment, that we may well  
be amazed at the great confidence of the

B

Divines

Divines in the Church of *Rome*, who would fain perswade you to believe the contrary ; whether out of a design , or by means of their violent Passions and prejudices, I will not say.

It is indeed taken for granted by people on that side, that at the Reformation their Church was the *only* Catholick Church in the World; and that their Faith was undoubtedly True and Primitive in all its particulars ; because otherwise the Church (as they conceive) must have *failed* ; and the Promises of God, touching his preserving and assisting his Church to the Worlds end, must have come to *nothing*. Upon which *false* suppositions they run away at all rates with many strange notions of *Us*, and of the *Reformation*, believing and giving it out, that we forsook the True Church which was entitled to Gods Patronage and Guardianship, and did set up a new Religion which no good Christians ever own'd ; and therefore that we must needs be in a miserable and lost condition.

Seeing then the difference between us is so wide, either *They* or *We* must necessarily be



be under a very great mistake : And therefore in compliance with your commands I shall endeavour to satisfy you, that the mistake lies not on our side ; especially, since the Author of the *Nubes Testium*, and Mr. *Sclater* in his *Consensus veterum*, have taken so much pains to possess the World with a Notion to the contrary.

In the prosecution of this matter I shall,

1. First, take as short and as particular a view as I can, of the State of Christianity, from the Primitive times to the Reformation; and shew you how the Doctrines, we profess, were generally profest and own'd from Age to Age, in those Churches which are nearer home.

2. That at the Reformation and before, the Faith of those Churches, which are more Remote and distant from Us, was the same with Ours, in most of those material points which lie now under debate. And when these Two things are cleared, several inferences will easily follow, which will abundantly serve to justify Our Reformation, and to discharge the Protestant Religion from those Imputations, which are commonly but unjustly cast upon it.

1. First, let us look into the condition of Religion from the Primitive Ages to the time of the Reformation; and see, if those Doctrines, which we Protestants profess, were not profest and own'd from Age to Age, before ever the Name of Protestant became a characteristical note of Distinction. And for the clearing of this, I think it too tedious to gather up *Sentences*, and ends of *Sayings* out of the Ancients, as Mr. *Sclater*, and the Author of the *Nubes Testium* have endeavour'd to do. For they know well, that we have a *Catalogus Testium*, to which their *Nubes* is but as it were of a *Hands breadth*. And besides the latter of these doth ingenuously confess, *That many things in the Ancient Fathers are Obscure; that their Names have been prefixt to Books, of which they were never the Authors; and that additions have been made to some of their writings; besides the divers mistakes of Transcribers in the publishing of their Works.*

*Preface pag. 3.*

The most effectual way therefore will be to observe the Doctrines of the Ancients in their *Disputations* and *Controversies* with the Adversaries of the Truth, and that

that, either when they purposely wrote against some known Error, and generally used the same arguments, as so many *Received Principles*; or when they met together in *Councils* to settle matters by public *Canons* and *Definitions*. These observations will more readily, and more certainly help us to understand the sense of the Ancient Church, than our having recourse to this or that passage in particular Authors. So that if it be made appear, that our Religion is agreeable to that which the Ancients did in their *Disputations* and *Assemblies* maintain, as the Primitive Faith, you need not enquire further for your satisfaction, nor trouble your self with Heaps of quotations out of *single* Authors; unless you have a mind to gratify your *Curiosity*, and for that you may consult Bishop *Taylor's Disswasive*, or Bishop *Mortons Appeal*, or Bishop *Ushers Answer to the Jesuites challenge*; which the Writers in this Age would do well to try if they can Answer.

But to go to our business: It is notorious, that the first great Controversies in the Church were about the *Common Do-*  
the

ctrines of Christianity; a great many Hereticks for divers Ages, from *Simon Magus* downward to Pope *Honorius*, and the rest of the *Monothelites*, violently opposing, some the Reality of Christs *Humane* Nature; some his *Divinity*, some, the *Distinction* between his two Natures; some, the Divinity of the *Holy Ghost*, as a distinct *Person* from the Father and the Son, and the like general Principles which the Christian Church held. Against these Seducers, not only Books were written by the Primitive Fathers severally, but divers *Councils* were called; the first a *Local Synod* at *Antioch* against *Paulus Samosatenus*, who taught that our Saviour was a meer *Man*. After this, Six general Councils met: The First at *Nice* against *Arius*, for asserting that Christ Jesus was a *Creature*: The Second at *Constantinople* against the *Eunomians* and *Sabellians*, and the rest that affirm'd the Holy Ghost to be a *Creature* too: the Third at *Ephesus* against *Nestorius* for reviving the Arian Heresie: The Fourth at *Chalcedon* against *Eutyches*, who own'd the Divine and Humane Nature too, yet taught that upon the *Union* of them, both were  
*mixt,*

*mixt, Absorpt and Transubstantiated into One* : The Fifth at *Constantinople* again, to stifle a fresh the *Nestorian* Blasphemy : and the Sixth there *also* against Pope *Honorius*, and his Associates, who own'd, as but one *Nature* (as *Eutyches* did) so but one *Will* neither.

Now what was the business of all these zealous Fathers, but to confirm the *Apostles Creed*, which had been handed down to them from the beginning? They look't upon it to contain all things necessary to be believed; they reckoned it the *saving*, and the *Only* short Rule of Faith; the Faith that is *Immovable* (as *Ignatius* the Martyr call'd it;) the *unmovable* and *Irreformable* Faith (as *Tertullian*;) the *Perfect* Faith, that *unites all Churches throughout the whole World into one body* (as *Irenæus* thought;) the *Right Catholic* Faith (as *Athanasius* and the rest of the Ancients did esteem it.) This was the reason, why they were so very industrious and careful to keep the common Creed inviolable : So that, as *Justinian* the Emperor tells us, the Fathers of the Council at *Chalcedon*, anathematiz'd all those that *had deli-*

*Ignat. Ep. ad Smyr. Tertul. de veland. verg. Iren. l. 1. c. 3.*

*Super hac autem iidem in Chalcedone sancti Patres anathematizaverunt eos qui aliud Symbolum tradiderunt aut tradunt, præter hoc quod expositum est a trecentis decem & octo sanctis Patribus, & explanatum a centum quinquaginta sanctis Patribus. Justinian. in Quinta Synodi Collat. prima, Concil. Tom. 4. part. 2. pag. 47. Edit. Bin.*

vered,

vered, or *do* deliver any other Symbol, besides that Creed of the Apostles, which was explained by the two first general Councils, that at *Nice*, of 318 Fathers; and the next at *Constantinople* consisting of an hundred and fifty.

I know not what the Men of *Trent* thought of this heavy Anathema, when they *Added* to the Ancient Creed a great many *New* Articles of their *own*, as equally *Necessary* to Salvation. But by this, Sir, you may see that the *Apostles* Symbol, as it was explicated in the first General Councils, was that and that only, which the Primitive Fathers so zealously contended to maintain; which you cannot conceive, why it should have been, had not they concluded it to be a *Perfect* Summary. And this I note, not only to shew their great and most unreasonable *uncharitableness*, who condemn all that stick to this Primitive Creed only: But moreover to vindicate our selves, who own and teach the very *same* Articles of Faith, and necessary principles of Christianity, which was the only thing contended for by the old Catholick *Fathers*. Upon which account



count *we* are no more Hereticks, than *They* were, our Creed being the very same with Theirs: So that there can be no colour of Reason for any to *forsake* our Communion, as if our Faith were unsound or *Defective*; or to be *dissatisfied* in their minds, as if there were any danger of their Happiness, if they be but careful to *adorn* this Faith with a sutable conversation.

And hence I cannot but look upon it, as a strange piece of weakness (at least) in the Divines of that party, that they are so grossly *mistaken* in their notion of of the Catholick Faith. For they quite over-look the *Common Creed*, as if that were not *it*, (whereas in Truth, that *alone* is the Catholick Faith;) and give that Title to the *Trent-confession*, which is the *Roman* Faith only; and yet whoever denieth any part of that Confession, though he owns the Apostles Symbol, must be hooted at presently as an *Heretick*.

Nor can it be thought any less than strange Inconsideration in Mr. *Sclater*, that he should leave our Church for that of *Rome*, upon an Idea he hath formed in his own fancy of that Churches *Unity* in the Faith.

For is not *our* Church in most perfect *Unity* as to the Christian Faith? Were the Apostles' Creed profest only in the *Roman* Church, we might all go thither. But is not *our* Faith the same with *Hers*, in those points wherein 'tis truly *Primitive* and *Catholic*? If Mr. *Sclater* can shew us, wherein we contradict any of those principles of Christianity, which so many *Ancient* Councils confirm'd as the *One Catholic* Faith, we will not blame him for thinking, that we have broken the *Unity* thereof. But we are so far from offering *an hundred Faiths* (as he unworthily insinuates) that we teach but *One*, and the same, which is *Common* to all the Churches in the *World*. Therefore his little quotations out of *Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, and the supposititious *Clemens Romanus*, are nothing at all to his purpose. But his Allegation out of *Irenæus* (pag. 8) is grossly *impertinent*. For *Irenæus* evidently speaks of the *Apostles Creed*, and of that alone. Pray consult the place, and see if *Irenæus* doth not expressly and distinctly repeat the substance of that Confession, the Articles whereof we repeat daily in our Churches:

Page. 5.

Iren. lib. 1. c. 2.



Churches ; and then he presently *subjoyns*, in the very next Chapter , *This Doctrine and Faith the Church keeps with all care, as if she dwelt in one House, although she be disseminated over the whole World. Her Faith is agreeable to these Doctrines, as if she had one Soul, and one and the same Heart. These Articles she doth consonantly preach, teach and deliver, as if she had but one mouth. For though there be different Languages, yet the Faith delivered is one and the same. Neither do the Churches in Germany believe or teach any other Faith, nor do those Churches in Spain, nor those in France, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Lybia, nor those in the middle parts of the World: But as the Sun is one the same in the whole World, so the Doctrine of Truth every where shines, and enlightens all men that are willing to come to the knowledge of the Truth: He adds too ( which Mr. Sclater disingenuously conceals ) that none of the Governours of the Church, though never such able men, do teach any other Doctrines than these ( for no man is above his Master ) nor doth the weakest diminish the Faith delivered : But the Creed*

*being one and the same, the greatest man doth not add more, no doth the meanest man believe less.*

And now Sir, what is all this for the advantage of the present *Roman Faith*, which is *superadded* to the Apostles Symbol? This passage is so far from *countenancing*, that it utterly *condemns* that Addition. Or what is all this against *Us*, who believe & teach that very *same Faith* which all Christian Churches did adhere to in *Irenæus* time? Or what encouragement is all this for any man to leave our Communion, as if we had violated the *Unity* of the Faith? The truth is, *Irenæus* & the rest of the Ancients said (as we do) that Christ hath but *one Catholick Church* on Earth; that all Churches make up this Catholick Church; that they are all united in one by one common *Faith*, and that the Apostles *Creed*, is that one and *only Faith*. Now this Faith is uniformly believed by us; and therefore Mr. *Sclater* needed not to say (as he doth pag. 10.) *What would I have once given to have found such Unity among Protestants?* Let him but give us our *Due*, and we desire no more, and this he cannot deny without denying us

us our due, that in *England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweedland, Geneva, Zurick, &c.* we have one common Creed, and the same which United all Local Churches into one Catholic Church, in the Days of Old. But though we Protestants are United into one Faith, yet because we are not United under one Pope (no more than the Primitive Churches were) Mr. Sclater leaves us. A very stout Reason! If yet that be one of the True Reasons: But by what we have seen of his Reasons yet, we have some cause to believe, he hath some other reasons that are stronger than this; some *Reserv'd Reasons*, among those which he calls (*Pag. 5.*) his *Reserv'd Principles*.

But to let Mr. Sclater go at present, till we meet him again. The Author of the *Nubes Testium* would perswade you to think, that in those *By-opinions* wherein we differ from the *Roman Church*, the *Primitive Fathers* are on their side.

For the clearing therefore of this Matter, I shall take a very short course; by giving you an Historical account of the Series of Affairs from the *Primitive Ages*, as Controversies about these Points did happen to arise: And by this account  
you

you will easily discern, that our Opinions are the *most Ancient and Catholick Opinions.*

After the Catholick Faith had been confirm'd, and the Controversie with *Arius* determin'd at the *Nicene Council* about *Anno 325.* another Controversie arose about *Primacy*, some Bishops of *Rome* pretending to *Supream Authority*, and *Universal Jurisdiction* over the rest. But this was clearly

*Tὸ ἐκείνου* an Innovation : for an *Ancient Canon* had  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* been provided ( which was the Churches  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* Rule, during the Reigns of Heathen Princes)  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* That the Bishops of every Country should sub-  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* mit to him that was their *Primate*, and own  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* him for their *Head*, and do nothing ( of Mo-  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* ment ) without his *Approbation*. By which  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* Canon the *Primacy* was fixt in the *Arch-*  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* bishop of every *Province*, and all *Metro-*  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* politans throughout the *World*, stood up-  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* on the same *Level*, and had the same *Sup-*  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* ream Authority in their *Respective Ju-*  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* risdictions and *Countries*. You cannot but  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* smile to see what a *Marginal Note* there is  
*ἡ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου* upon this Canon in *Binius's Edition* of it :

*Jurisdic-  
 tio E-  
 piscopo-  
 rum. prae-  
 terquam Roma-  
 ni, certis & fi-  
 nitis limitibus  
 circumscripta  
 est.*

*The Jurisdiction of Bishops (except the Ro-  
 man Bishops) is Circumscribed within certain  
 and determinate Limits.* But there is not  
 the

the least ground or colour for that *exception*: the continual practice of the Church in those times shews it to be a *forced* Interpretation of the Canon; for the Jurisdiction of the *Roman* Bishops was *limited*, as all the others was; so that *Aeneus Sylvius* (afterwards *Pope Pius* the second) ingenuously confess, that *before the Nicene Council*, little respect was had to the Church of Rome.

Nor did the *Nicene Council* give the *Roman* Bishops any Title to their pretended Primacy. For in the sixth Canon of that Council the Fathers decreed, that the *Antient Customes* should hold; that the Bishop of Alexandria should have power over them <sup>Τα αρχαία ἐν ἡμετέροις</sup> &c. <sup>ἐν ἡμετέροις</sup> who were in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; because this was likewise the custome for the Bishop of Rome. Also that Antioch and other Provinces should have the same Priviledges preserv'd to their Churches. Whence it appears, that in those times the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Patriarch* was *limited* and *bounded*; and that to the *Suburbicary Churches* in *Italy* (as *Ruffinus* rightly understood that Canon.) 2. That other Provinces had the same equal priviledges within

within themselves, that the *Roman Church* had. 3. That those priviledges were every where founded on ancient *Customes*. 4. That those *Customes* should still *continue* in force.

But all this could not bound the Ambition of some Bishops of *Rome*, who endeavour'd and hoped to *enlarge* their Jurisdiction by the great Interest they had in the (now Christian) Emperors, who express much tenderness to the Church in lieu of those hardships she had endured in times of Persecution; and thought it no little *Piety*, out of Veneration to the Memories of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, to be kind to their Successors: and this was one thing that by degrees brought the Church of *Rome* into great request. Besides, Schismatics and Hereticks who lay under Church-censures, were wont to *appeal* to the Emperor for redress, as the Donatists did to *Constantine* in the Pontificate of *Melchisedech*. The Emperor thinking it proper for him to commit the cognisance of Church Causes into the hands of Churchmen, did use to depute and delegate the Bishop of his own See, with some more of the

the Clergy, to examine the matters. And as this gave encouragement to Factious men, ever and anon to have recourse to the Church of *Rome*, so it gave encouragement also to the Bishops of *Rome* to *incroach* upon the Priviledges of *other* Countries, where such causes should regularly have been heard and determin'd in publick Synods. Yet it is observable, that for a long Tract of time, the Bishops of *Rome* never attempted to execute their *usurped* power, but still they met with great *Opposition* from those who asserted their own Canonical *Priviledges* and *Rights*: Thus when *Julius* endeavoured to interpose in the case of *Athanasius*, who had been unjustly condemned by the Oriental Bishops in the Synods of *Tyre* and *Antioch*, though *Julius* pretended only, that 'twas not Canonically done, but that himself and other Bishops ought to have been interess'd too in an affair of that High nature; yet *Julius* his *appearing* in this cause put the Oriental Bishops into a rage, as you may see by his letter to them; wherein he takes notice of their *Passion* and opposition; and confesses, that they *charged him with kind-*

Council. Tom. 1.  
pag. 391.

D  
ling



Quinam dicen-  
di sunt flamma  
discordie ac-  
cendisse; si qui-  
dem id nobis  
in vestris literis  
objicitur? Jul.  
Ep.  
Verè parem e-  
undemq; hono-  
rem in omnibus  
Episcopatibus  
censetis esse, neq;  
ex magnitudine  
civitatum ( ut  
vos Scribitis )  
honorem ejus  
rei crescere ar-  
bitramini. Id.  
ibid.

ling a flame of Discord; and that they were positive in their Opinion, that in all Bishopricks the Honour was really equal and the same, and that the Honour ( much less the Power of a See ) did not increase by the greatness of Cities. This was point blank to stop the growth of the Pope of Romes power as a meer Usurpation upon the Authority and Rights of other Bishops, when yet all that Julius seems to have contended for, was that Athanasius his case might be re-considered in a general Council, wherein he himself and other Western Bishops might be concern'd.

Concil. Milevit.  
cap. 22.

But when Innocent the first made a tryal of his skill upon the African Churches, by occasion ( as 'tis thought ) of an Appeal made to him by Cælestius the Pelagian Heretick, who had been condemn'd at home in Africa; the Africans to maintain their own Priviledges, and the Canons of the Catholick Church decreed at the Milevitan Council, that when Presbyters, Deacons, or other inferiour Clergy-men did appeal from their-own Bishops, some neighbouring Bishops should hear the cause: and if they appealed from them too, they should not appeal, but



but to the African Councils, or to the Primates of their own Provinces. But whosoever should appeal beyond the Sea, should not be receiv'd into Communion by any in Africa. Which decree, though it speaks particularly of Presbyters and Deacons, yet it reacheth Bishops also; as is clear from the 31. Canon of the Carthaginian Council ( Three years after this) that the same thing against Appeals beyond the Sea, had been often decreed concerning Bishops too. And this cuts off the common subterfuge of the Romanists, who are wont to pretend, that the *Milevitan* Canon concern'd the *inferiour* Clergy onely; as if the Pope had not power of Jurisdiction over Presbyters and Deacons too, if he had any over Bishops, especially if he hath it (as they say) by *Divine Right*.

Notwithstanding all this, the Successors of *Innocent*, (*Zozimus*, *Boniface* and *Celestine*) pretended still successively to this claim of Jurisdiction in the *African* Churches: whereby you may see, what an ill use they made of that favour, which the Emperours shew'd some of their Predecessors; for now instead of being the Em-

ὅτι καὶ περὶ  
ἐπισκόπων  
πολλὰ καὶ διε-  
τακται. Can.  
Carth. 5. 31.

perors *Delegates*, or their Neighbours, friendly *Arbitrators*, they pretended to be the most rightful *Judges* of foreign causes.

During the time of the Three forementioned Popes, the great case about Appeals to *Rome* was depending in *Africa*; and for the determining of the Controversie, the *Carthaginian Council* was called, consisting of 217 Fathers, whereof *St. Austin* was one, *Anno* 419. The Pope grounded his claim of Jurisdiction upon a pretended Canon of the *Nicene Council*: to which the *Africans* answered, *They knew nothing of any such Canon, nor could find any thing to that effect in those Copies they had of the Acts of that Council.* But being not willing either to make a Rupture in the Church, or to lose their own Priviledges, they condescended to let the matter rest, till they could procure the most Authentick Copies of the *Nicene Canons*. For which purpose they dispatcht away Messengers to *Constantinople*, to *Antioch*, and to *Alexandria*, supposing it impossible for them to miss of the True Copies in those Churches. No sooner did they receive those Copies, but presently they found  
how

how they had been *imposed* upon by the Bishops of *Rome*, for their whole pretence was a *Forgery*: Whereupon they *confirm'd* and *inlarged* the former *Milevitan Decree*, against any Clergy-man's appealing to the See of *Rome*; and to justify their Acts, they sent a Synodical Epistle to Pope *Celestine*; wherein they call those Appeals, *Improbable Refugia*, *Wicked Refuges*; they pleaded, *That no Councils had ever taken away the Ancient Rights of the African Churches, but that the Council at Nice had left, not Presbyters only, but all Bishops also, to the Judgment of their own Metropolitans*; they shew'd the Reasonableness of this Decree, it being impossible for any man to be tryed so fairly as at home, where every man was known, and Witnesses were ready at hand. For all this they referred themselves to the *Nicene Canons*, the *True Copies* whereof they had now received; and in the End they chid his Holiness for his *Usurpation*; earnestly exhorted him, *neither to encourage such Appellants to him, nor to send any Legates abroad in such cases, lest it should be a means of bringing (as they call it) the swelling Pride of the World into the Church of Christ*.

*Ne fumosum ty-  
phum Seculi in  
Ecclesiam Chri-  
sti, videamur in-  
ducere. Vide  
Concil. Car-  
thagin. Can. 31.  
& Epist. Syno-  
dicam in fine  
Canonum; Con-  
cil. Tom. 1.  
pag. 757.*

This

This manifestly shews on our side, that the Bishop of *Rome* pretence to a Primacy over the whole Christian World is an *Innovation*, and *incroachment* upon the just Liberties and Canonical Priviledges of all other Churches. And before I go on, I cannot but note it as great Weakness and Ignorance ( for I am loath to call it a *Fraud* ) in Mr. *Sclater*; who, to support the *Universal* Pastourship of that *Italian* Prelate ( to whose *Foreign* power he hath subjected *himself* contrary to his Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* too ) cites the Canon of the *Nicene* Council, and for the Authority of them sends us to a pretended Epistle of *Athanasius ad Marcum*. You may observe, that the Author of the *Nubes Testium* was *Wiser* than to quote either those *Canons*, or that Epistle; because there is no Canon to that purpose among the Acts of the *Nicene* Fathers, nor was ever such a Canon pretended, but what was *Forged* and *Supposititious*. And as for the Epistle *ad Marcum* which goes under the name of *Athanasius*; the *Learned* men in the Church of *Rome* have been *ashamed* long ago to own its Authority, knowing it to be a *Spurious* piece.

Ba-

*Baronius* and *Possevine* both reject that E-  
 pistle; and so doth *Bellarmino*, and the  
 Abbreviator of *Baronius*, *Henricus Sponda-*  
*nus*, rejects the Epistle and Canons both, Bellarmino de  
 Rom. Pontif.  
 Lib. 2. c. 25.  
 Spondan. ad.  
 Anno. 325.  
 Num. 42.  
 though Mr. *Slater* is pleased to lay such  
 stress upon them. 'Tis pity, that when he  
 had thoughts of writing his Reasons, he  
 did not consult some knowing Friend,  
 what Authors he should use, and what  
 Books were *Genuine*, and what *Spurious*;  
 for when he quoted that Epistle *ad Marcum*,  
 and call'd it *Athanasius* his, he might as well  
 have quoted the Narrative of *Titus Oates*,  
 and called it the History of *Titus Livius*.

But to go on to our Business: Soon af-  
 ter these transactions in *Africa*, a General Can. 8.  
 Council of 200 Fathers was held at *Ephe-*  
*sus*, and there it was decreed again, *That*  
*no Bishop should invade anothers Province,*  
*but that every Metropolitan should retain his*  
*due power, and every Province should have its*  
*Ancient Rights and Priviledges preserved.* Of  
 which Decree they expressly gave Three  
 reasons. 1. Lest the Canons of the Church  
 should be transgressed. 2. Lest the Churches  
 of Christ should unawares lose their Liberty.  
 3. Lest the *Fride of Secular Power* should be  
 brought

brought into the Church ; which was the very Reason and Expression the *Africans* had used a little before against the incroachments of Pope *Celestine*.

About Twenty years after this, a *New* Scene of Affairs appear'd, which is well worth your Observation. A great Synod of 630 Fathers met at *Chalcedon* : and there, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Popes Legates, they confirm'd the Canons that had been made at the Council of *Constantinople*, and gave the Bishop of *Constantinople*, equal Honours and Priviledges with the Bishop of *Rome* ; meaning, not any Supremacy of Power or Jurisdiction, but an Honourable Precedency for Order sake. The Reason of this was, because the Imperial Seat was now removed to *Constantinople* : It was called, *New Rome*, and enjoyed the same civil Priviledges that the *Old* did : and because an Honourable Precedency had been givento the Bishop of *Old Rome* ( not upon any pretence of a *Divine right* he had to it, but out of respect to the *Imperial City*, as the Fathers at *Chalcedon* plainly declared) therefore they thought it reasonable, that the like Honourable precedence

*Vide* Con. Constantinop. Can. 2. & 3. Item Concil. Chalced. Can. 28.

should be granted to the Bishop of *New Rome* also. Upon this there were strait very strong fears in *Italy*, that in a little time the *Power* would go along with the *Honour*; and that the Bishop of *Constantinople* would carry away that Universal Supremacy and Jurisdiction, which some Bishops of *Rome* had hitherto contended for. Now 'tis very Useful and Pleasant to observe what a strange *Change* this presently wrought. For as *other* Churches had hitherto bestirred themselves against the pretences of the Church of *Rome*, so now the very Church of *Rome* bestirred her self against the pretences of the Church of *Constantinople*, and with the same Arguments. Now the Note was *alter'd* on a sudden, and even the Bishops of *Rome* were vehemently set against *Pride* and *Ambition*. They urg'd our Saviours precepts of *Humility*, and especially in *Bishops*: They insisted upon the *Priviledges* of all Christian Churches; they stood stiffly for the *Canons*, especially for those of the *Nicene* Council (though some of their Predecessors had broken them.) So that could Authority alone for ever baffle the claim of Universal Pastourship,

E
ship,



ship, we need use onely the Authority of Three Bishops of *Rome*, that in their turns undertook the Quarel with the *Constantinopolitans*.

First Pope *Leo* engaged in it with all imaginable Zeal. He wrote to *Anatolius* himself, the then Bishop of *Constantinople*; rebuked him for his Insolence and Ambition; pleaded the Canons against him; vindicated the Priviledges of all Primates; told him that every Pimate should keep within his own bounds, without invading the Rights of others, and what not? He wrote likewise to *Marcian* the Emperor, complaining heavily of *Anatolius* for breaking the Churches peace, for violating the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and the like; and therefore desired the Emperor to pull his Pride down. He wrote too to the Empress *Pulcheria*, accusing *Anatolius* to Her also, and begging her assistance against him. He wrote to the very Synod at *Chalcedon*, and told them (though they cared not for it) that he would not look upon their Acts, as to *Anatolius*, to be valid. Besides all this, he wrote also to the Bishop of *Antioch*, desiring him likewise to be a Party,

*Vid. Ep. Leonis  
ad Anatol. &  
ad Marcian. &  
ad Pulcher. &  
ad Syn. Chalced.  
ex. in Binii  
Concil. Tom. 2.*



Party, and to engage the rest of the Oriental Bishops against *Anatolius*: but I do not find that they would be concern'd, because 'twas onely an *Honourary* matter which was granted to the *Constantinopolitan* See, being now the *Imperial Seat*; and they could not but understand what was the bottom of *Leo's* grudge.

Above an Hundred years after this, it seems a Synod at *Constantinople* gave *John*, the Bishop of that place, the Title of *Oecumenical* or *Universal* Bishop. Indeed the thing was evil, and it had grown to an Head by degrees; like a noxious *Humour*, that first *gathers*, then *Suppurates*, and at last comes to plain *Impostumation*. And now another Pope appear'd in the Controversie, *Pelagius* the 2d: He inveigh'd bitterly against *John*; and in a Letter to him charged him, with the most severe rebukes, to forbear that *Rash, Proud, and Superstitious Title* (as he called it.) And in an Epistle to the Synod that had granted it, he dealt very roundly with them, condemning the Title as a *Devilish Usurpation*; as *injurious to the Honour of all Patriarchs, and to the power of all Bishops, and as that*

*Vide Gregor. lib. 4. Ep. 38. & lib. 7. Ep. 71. Item Epist. Pelagii ad Synod. in Binii Concil. Tom. 2. Par. 2. pag. 257. It. Gratian. decret. pag. 303.*

*which violated the Nicene Canons, and would bring the Members of Christ into Slavery: In which particular Pope Pelagius was too much a Prophet.*

Greg lib. 4.  
Ep. 32, 36, 38.  
G lib. 6. Ep. 28.

*Pelagius dying, the quarrel was left in the hands of his Successor, Gregory the Great. Now he tells us, that this New Title, which John of Constantinople had Usurped, Scandaliz'd all men; that all the Bishops were enraged at it, and all their Mouths were opened against it; that the Universal Church was disquieted about it; that the peace of the Church was broken, and that the whole Church was rent in pieces by the Scandal it had given. Such great and strong opposition did that Arrogant name presently meet with: and yet the Title of Universal Bishop was in those a Title of Dignity onely, without any Power of Universal Jurisdiction: It was nothing in comparison of that which some have usurped a claim to Since. And if a vain Name made such work in that Age, 'tis past imagination to conceive what clamours and disturbances would have been then throughout the whole Church, by a Newer pretence to Universal power and Authority*

thority; a thing that is full of the most Terrible and Mischievous consequences.

But of all men then living, none seemed to have been set more fiercely against the Title of Universal Bishop, then Pope Gregory himself was. Concerning whom I observe briefly Three things. 1. That he declaimed against the *Bishop of Constantinople*, as a *Robber*, as a *Wolf*, as an *Incroacher* upon the Rights of all the Bishops; as the *Imitator* and *follower* of *Lucifer* in his Pride, and as the *Fore-runner* of *Antichrist*.

Lib. 7. Ep. 71.  
Lib. 4. Ep. 32. &  
38. & lib. 5.  
Ep. 30.

2. That he wrote several Letters to *Mauritius* the Emperor, to the Bishops of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Theſſalonica*, and divers more; to strengthen his interest against the Usurping Patriarch, that he might take down his greatness before it swelled too High. 3. That he loaded his ill-gotten Title with the most odious and reproachful Characters he could invent, calling it a *Vain*, *Novel*, *Profane*, *Blasphemous*, *Wicked*, *Foolish*, *Proud*, *Presumptuous Name*, and I know not what besides. This was the fine *Livery*, wherewith he endeavoured to disgrace his Rival, *John*;  
not

not dreaming, I believe, that in a very short time, it would be due to his own *Succeffors*, and would much better become them.

However we have the Judgment of no less then *Three* great Popes against the Title of *Universal* Bishop : nor are we concern'd to enquire, whether they had not some By-ends of their own, which provoked them to use these Expressions. That they were unwilling any others should be *Partners* with them in their Authority, is very reasonable for us to believe; though I am apt to think, that *Gregory* spake his thoughts *sincerely*; partly because he declared solemnly to the Emperor, that *'twas not any respect to his own cause which moved him*; and partly because he used so many *severe* expressions to render the thing *it self* Invidious and Odious; which a man so zealous for the Honour of *St. Peter's* Chair, as *Gregory* was, would not have done, had he but dream't of *His*, or his *Succeffors* having that Title: 'Tis not likely that he would wittingly have branded himself or his See, with so many *Ugly* and *Infamous* Characters. The

The true account of it therefore seems to be this. Some *Roman* Bishops longed for Superiority over the other Churches, and might *Hope* in time to accomplish their desires. But in *Gregory's* days, and somewhat before, *Rome* began mightily to sink, by the great Oppression of the *Lombards*, and by the Translation of the Imperial Seat. *Constantinople* flourish'd at a great rate : the Court was there : the Emperor favour'd it : the Patriarch of it had now gotten a very High Title, and the Bishops of *Rome* might fear, that Universal Authority would follow by degrees, and that their Cause was going *apace*. Therefore they might think it in vain for them to *smother and conceal* the truth any longer, & so to be *Revenged* upon the growing Patriarch, they speak at last their thoughts *freely*. In short, if these Three Bishops of *Rome* were *sincere* in what they said, their memory is the more valuable for asserting the Truth : if they looked upon any Sinister ends of their own, the *Glory* of Truth is the greater, for being justified even by those who were no friends to it.

You will perhaps wonder now, how  
this

this Title should go *unexpectedly* and so *suddenly* from *Constantinople* to *Rome* ? For it was obtained of the Usurper *Phocas* by *Boniface* the 3<sup>d</sup>. who was the next Successor (but *one* ) to that *Gregory*, who had *condemned* the Title with so much bitterness. Why, thus it was in short: *Phocas* had barbarously Murther'd his Prince, *Mauritius* the Emperour, and his Children. *Cyriacus* then Bishop of *Constantinople*, hated and oppos'd him for his execrable Villany. *Boniface* of *Rome* presently strikes in, makes use of this Opportunity, sues for the Title of Universal Bishop, hoping now to invade the *Church*, by the help of a *Tyrant* that had invaded the *State*; and *Phocas* grants his request, partly out of Hatred to his enemy *Cyriacus*; partly, for fear lest *Boniface* should raise up some evil against him in the West; and partly too, because he saw, the Bishops of *Rome*, were ready to crouch and *sneak* to him, though a bloudy *Usurper*, as long as they could gain any thing by their base Submission; of which he found a plain experiment in *Gregory* himself, who wrote a flattering Letter to him, which begins thus, *Gloria in excelsis*,  
*&c.*



&c. *Glory to God in the highest ; and so he goes on, Let the Heavens rejoyce, and the Earth be glad, and let all the People that have hitherto been much afflicted, be chearful for your kind actions.* This he thought might very well *Merit* something at the hands of *Phocas* ; and so *Boniface* obtain'd the Title of *Universal Bishop* ; and that too just about the time when *Mahomet* step into *Christendom* ; then it was that Oppression got into the *Church* ; God punishing the *Pride* and *Factions* of Christians with *Two Scourges* at once, which ever since have made the *Christian World* to Smart severely.

Greg. Regist.  
 Lib. 11. Ep. 38.  
 aa Phocam.

By this account you may see the Rise and Progress of the Popes Supremacy : What an *Innovation* it is, and how strongly it was opposed by the Catholick Church in the Primitive times for above 200 years together after it was first pretended to : Before I pass from this Topick, I shall lay hold on this opportunity to satisfy you touching those Allegations, which the Author of the *Nubes Testium* hath collected, to prove (if he could) that the Bishop of *Rome* has the Primacy over the whole

F

World,

World, and that by *Divine Right* too, and by Commission granted him by Christ himself in the Person of St. Peter. Now I observe in general, that this Author hath wholly omitted that Historical account which has been now given you, because it evidently clears the point against him; but instead of that, he has pickt up some ends & shreds out of some of the Ancients, which may seem Specious to *Ignorant* people; but signifies nothing with a man that is rightly acquainted with the Series of the Controversie. Whereas he pretends to give us an History of the *Donatists*, of the *Gnosticks*, of *Berengarius*, of the *Iconoclasts*, &c. (which I shall take notice of hereafter.) he takes no notice at all of those *Fathers* and *Councils* in *Africa*, and the East, which resisted the first inroachments that tended to the introduction of an Usurped Supremacy. He knew, that such an History would burn his Fingers, and therefore thought fit, not so much as to touch it; but throws the whole matter, and that very briefly, upon the *Donatists*; as if the *Donatists* were the onely men that denyed the Popes Supremacy, and broke with him upon



upon that account: whereas indeed the *Donatists* were *They*, who gave the Bishop of *Rome* the first unlucky *occasion* to claim Jurisdiction out of their due bounds, by their *Appeals* at *Rome*, and by their running from their proper Judges in *Africk*; witness their *Appeals* in the *Papacy* of *Melchiades*. So that it was not those *Schismatics*, that were the *first* or the *only* men that opposed the *Popes* Usurpations, but the *Catholick Fathers*, who were forced to stand up in defence of their own just priviledges.

Now it is not imaginable, that any of the *Fathers* would (especially during that *Controversie*) say any thing that might really serve to strengthen the unlawful pretences of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, against themselves: and therefore you may very rationally conclude, that those passages which are gather'd out of the *Fathers* in favour of the *Popes* Supream Authority, are forced & wrested to a sense which they cannot naturally bear. But to examine particulars:

If you please to peruse (for'tis tedious to Transcribe) all the Authorities this Man cites, you will find that they are concerning Four things: 1. Concerning those

high *Characters* which some of the Ancients gave of *S. Peter* himself. 2. Concerning those honourable *Titles* which they gave to the Bishops and See of *Rome*. 3. Concerning those *Applications* which were sometimes made to the Bishops of *Rome* upon emergent occasions. 4. Concerning the *Acts* of the Bishops of *Rome* upon such *Applications*. And upon a full and impartial consideration of these several things, you will easily find, what false grounds they go upon, who endeavour so eagerly from these Observations to prove the Universal supream power of the Pope, especially by *Divine Right*.

1. These Authorities are concerning the high *Characters*, which some of the Ancients gave of *S. Peter* himself; as that he was the *Prince*, the *Head* of the *Apostles*, and the like. Now what doth this mean, but that *S. Peter* was the most *Eminent* Apostle, in respect of his *age*, in respect of his *zeal*, in respect of his *couragious Professions* of his *Constancy* and *Love* to his Master, in respect of the *Precedency* he might have for *Order-sake*, and in respect too of the *Honour* he had in *Founding* Christ's Church; for the First Converts were made by his Preaching,

'Twas

'Twas he that gather'd at once those *Three thousand Souls*, which were call'd, *The Church*, Act. 2. 42; and because he was the first Founder of the Church, he was very fitly called a *Rock*; But doth all this import, that he was above all the other Apostles in *Power*? Or that he had *Supream Authority* and *Jurisdiction* over them? *S. Paul* speaks twice of the *very chiefest Apostles*; and what if *S. Peter* was the chiefest of all? Doth it follow that he was the chiefest in *Authority*? No, *S. Paul's* power was as great as *His*; and therefore he saith in one place. *I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles*, 2 Cor. 11. 15. and in another place, *in nothing am I behind the very chiefest Apostles*, 2 Cor. 12. 11. So the Ancients allow'd *S. Peter* a *prebeminence* of *Honor*, but not a *Supremacy* of *Power*; as 'tis clear from that single passage which our Author cites out of *S Jerome* (and I wonder he did not better consider it) *As Plato was Prince of the Philosophers*; so was *Peter*, of the *Apostles*. Had *Plato* any *Authority* or *Jurisdiction* over the Rest? No; all that is meant is, that *Plato* was the most *Eminent* and *Renowned* Philosopher. *S. Gregory* call'd *Peter* the chief Greg. lib. 4. Ep. 38. *Member of the Holy and Universal Church*:  
and

and (saith he) *Paul, Andrew and John, What were They but the Heads of particular Churches?* If the word *Head* always imports *Authority*; then had those three Apostles as much *Authority* over *Peter*, as *Peter* had over *Them*. But the Truth is, the Ancients ever thought, *all the Apostles had authority alike*: And so *St. Cyprian* (for instance) tells us, that *what Peter was, that were the rest of the Apostles too, endued with an equal Partnership in Honour and Power*. And elsewhere he saith plainly, that *Peter*, whom the Lord chose first, and on whom he built his Church, in his dispute with *Paul* about Circumcision, *did not insolently claim, or arrogantly assume any thing to himself, as if he held the Primacy, or ought to be obeyed rather than those Disciples who were called after him*. Whence it is clear, that though some of the Ancients stiled him the *Prince* and *Head* of the Apostles, yet they did not ascribe to him any *Superiour Authority* or *Power*, but onely an *Honorary Precedency*, like that which is given to the *Chair-man* of a *Committee*, who is above the rest in *Eminence*, but in *Power* the same with the rest, that are equally and jointly

Hoc erant u-  
trique & ceteri  
Apostoli, quod  
fuit Petrus, pari  
consortio praediti  
& honoris &  
potestatis. S. Cy-  
prian. de Unit.  
Eccles. Ep. ad  
Quintum.

jointly in Commission with him. And thus all our Authors *Collections* touching St. Peter's great *Characters*, are answer'd in short.

2. Other of his Authorities are concerning those Honourable *Titles*, which some of the Ancients gave to the Church and Bishops of Rome; as that There was the most potent *Principality* (or, the Imperial Seat of the Emperor) that the *First Chair*, and the principal Church was There, that it was the *Head Church*, that the Bishop of it was a *Great Pastour*, and the *Head*, to whom Antiquity had Given a *Preheminence of Priesthood* (or, the *Precedency* before all other Bishops.) And what is all this, and Ten times more, to the Popes pretended Authority over all Churches, and all Bishops, and that by *Divine Right* too? Antiquity bestowed upon the Bishop of Rome a *Preheminence*, saith our Author out of the Emperor *Valentinian's* Letter: and who doubts it? But it was nothing but a *Civil Respect*, and an Honourable, yet voluntary *Deference* to him, because he was Bishop of the *Chief City*, and was near the Emperor, and was capable of doing the

Pag. 45.  
Ca.

Catholick Church ( by his Interest in the  
 Emperor ) more good Offices, then other  
 Bishops could do; therefore they were  
 willing to *Complement* him with great *Titles*,  
 and to give him the upper hand, and the  
 precedency, for *Order* and *Peace*-sake. *To the*  
*Episcopal Chair at Old Rome, because it was*  
*the Imperial City, the Fathers very fitly gave*  
*an Honourable preheminance, as those 630*  
*Fathers profest at the Council of Chalcedon;*  
*But this was a Frank-gift, a voluntary Act,*  
*and Courtesie of the Catholick Church; and*  
 from these Respectful compellations and  
 Honorary Grants of *Precedency*, to argue,  
 that the Bishop and See of Rome had *Autho-*  
*rity* over the rest, is the same thing as if  
 you should say, that because among our  
*Magistrates* the Mayor of *London* hath the  
 Title of *Lord*, therefore all other Majors  
 and Headboroughs are under his *Com-*  
*mand* : Or, because among our Cities,  
*London* is the Chief and Head-city, there-  
 fore all other Cities and Corporations are  
 under its *Jurisdiction* : Or, because among  
 our *Peers* there is a *Primier* Duke, or a  
*First* Earl, therefore all other Peers are in  
*subjection* to him : Or, because amongst  
 our

τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς  
 πρεσβυτέρας  
 Ρώμης, διὰ  
 τὸ βασιλεῦσιν  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐ-  
 κένω, οἱ πα-  
 τὲρς ἐκδότως  
 ἀποδεδώκασι  
 τὰ πρεσβεία.  
 Concil. Cal-  
 ced. Can. 8.

our *Bisbopricks* that of *Durham* hath some singular Favours granted to it, therefore the Prelate of that Diocess is in his Episcopal Power and Authority *Superior* to all the rest. The Ancients did not begrudge that fair *Preheminence*, which upon the New moduling of the *Roman* Empire they found it necessary for them to give to some Patriarch or other, and for some special Reasons thought it best and most proper for them to give to the Patriarch of *Rome*; but they did not give away their own Authority, or that Power they had at home, in respect whereof all Bishops were his *Equals*: No, saith *St. Cyprian*, *The Episcopal Authority is one and the same, whereof all particular Bishops are equal and joint-possessors, like joint-Heirs in Fee.* And *St. Austin* (whom our Author cites) saith clearly against him, that though the Bishop of *Rome* had the *Preheminence*, yet the *Episcopal* power was common to all that were of that *Function*: and therefore *Optatus* call'd Pope *Siricius* his *Fellow*; *Socius*, is the word (which our Author hath very ignorantly, or very disingenuously rendred, *Contemporary*, but the plain meaning is) our

*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a Singulis in solidum pars tenetur.*  
*S. Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesie.*

Pag. 41.



*Fellow, or Equal.* The Ancients distinguish between *Priority* in point of *Honour*, and *Supremacy* or *Primacy* in point of *Jurisdiction*. The former they denyed not the Bishop of *Rome*; but when once he went about to take advantage by their free concessions, to inroach upon their due privileges, they resolutely opposed his *Usurpations*, though at the same time they gave him an *Honourable* deference. This was the ground of that *Controversie* whereof I have given you a short account; and for your further satisfaction you may consult the vehement *Epistles* of *St. Cyprian* to the Bishops of *Rome*, and particularly that to *Cornelius*, where he stoutly defends the privileges of foreign Churches and their Right of judging matters at home, against all Appeals to the *Roman See*; and if anything be needful to be added, it shall be onely what *St. Cyprian* said afterwards at the *Carthaginian Council*; *None of us makes himself a Bishop of Bishops, or by any Tyrannical Threats, compelleth his Colleagues to a necessity of Obedience; in regard that every Bishop hath by vertue of his own Liberty and Authority, a Power of Judgment in himself,*  
and

Neque enim  
quisquam no-  
strum Episco-  
pum se Episco-  
pum constituit,  
aut Tyrannico  
terrore ad obse-  
quendi necessita-  
tem collegas  
suos adigit, &c.  
Cyprian. de  
baptizand. Ha-  
ret. in initio.

and can no more be judged by another Bishop, than another Bishop can be judged by him. This he spake *designedly* against the Bishop of Rome; and if you consider the place, you will find it to be such a pregnant Testimony against the pretended Supremacy of the Pope of Rome, as I believe the Author of the *Nubes Testium* will be puzzled how to answer:

3. Next we are to consider those *Applications* which Foreigners were wont to make to the Roman Bishop upon special *Occasions*; and examine whether these did import and argue that Supremacy, which 'tis pretended he had in the Primitive Ages. 1. Then 'tis true, that other Bishops were anciently wont to acquaint the Bishop of Rome with the state of Church-affairs in their several Provinces; especially if any new thing hapned. And this was all that the *Sardican* Fathers meant, when writing to Pope *Julius*, who had excused himself for his absence from the Synod, in regrad they had accepted his excuse, they sent him an account of what they had done; because they thought it most proper for the

*Si ad Petri A-  
postoli sedem, de  
singulis provin-  
ciis domini refe-  
rant Sacerdotes.*

Pag. 25.

*Bishops from several Provinces to relate, or com-  
municate their proceedings to the Head, that  
is, to St. Peter's See (the sense of which place  
our Author hath perverted by rendring it  
so, as if they thought it best for them to  
have recourse to the Bishop of Rome: an un-  
just innuendo, that he was not so much  
their Brother as their Judge.)*

Now what can any man get by this, that  
the Bishops in those times would not keep  
one another in *Ignorance*? In order to the  
*Peace* and *Unity* of the Catholick Church,  
it was absolutely necessary for them to hold  
a *mutual, brotherly, correspondence*: And why  
should they pass by one that was Bishop  
of so eminent a City as *Rome* was? Yet this  
is no argument of any *Authority* he had  
over them; for he was wont to do the  
same thing himself; as other Bishops com-  
municated the affairs of their provinces to  
*him*, so he communicated the affairs of his  
Province to *Them* too; and so, this is no  
more an argument for the *Authority* of  
the *one*, than 'tis for the *Authority* of all  
the *rest*.

2. It is true too, that the Primitive  
Fathers did many times *consult* the Opini-  
on

on of the Bishop of *Rome*, in points that were controverted: and good reason they had to do so; for the Church of *Rome* was then *uncorrupt*; men of great Learning and Note flockt thither, some out of *curiosity*, and some upon *business*; because, *Rome* was the chief Seat of the Empire (which is the Genuine sence of *Irænus*, as he is cited Pag. 22. by our Author) And where was any Controversie so likely to be determin'd, as at *Rome*? But what of all this? Doth it follow hence, that they lookt upon the Pope as the supream *Judge*? You know, many of the *Reformers* did either go or send to *Geneva*, to consult *Calvin's* Opinion; but did any of them think, they were under his *Jurisdiction*? This is as strong an Argument on the behalf of the *Presbyterians* for the Supremacy of their Pope, as 'tis on the behalf of the *Romanists* for the supremacy of the Pope of *Rome*. And yet we would not take away any of his *due* Honour from him: Let him cleanse his Church from those Errors and Corruptions we justly complain of;  
let

let him keep within his own bounds, without invading the Liberties of other Churches, and the Rights of Princes; let him make *Rome* the Seat of true Piety and Literature: let him be, as he should be, like a right Primitive Patriarch; and then he shall see whether we will not give him the same *deference*, that the Primitive Christians did.

3. It is true also, that foreign Bishops were, wont, as occasion did require, to give the Bishop of *Rome* an account of their *Faith*. But what then? Did they not give the same account to the *whole Church*, and to *other Bishops*, as well as to the *Roman*? It was a *common Cause*; and every Bishop was deeply concern'd to be satisfied, whether such as were of the same *Order*, were sound in the same Catholick Faith. And therefore when they were newly *Ordain'd*, or were at any time *suspected* of Errors, they were oblig'd to satisfy all their Fellow-Bishops, and did often give an account of their Faith, under their hands for the satisfaction of the whole Church.

Nay

Nay 'tis notorious that even the Bishops of Rome did the *same* thing ( and some of them were *commanded* to it in open Synods ) and the Learned and Moderate Archbishop of Paris, *Petrus de Marca*, ingenuously tells us, *That* Pet. de Marca de Concord. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. 'twas usual in those times for a Patriarch, and for the very Bishop of Rome, when he was newly chosen, to send Letters abroad concerning his Ordination; to which was added a Profession of his Faith. Pag. 28. So that 'tis impertinent what our Author alledgeth, of *Dionysius* of Alexandria giving his Name-fake of Rome, a Declaration of his Faith; for if this was an argument of his subjection to the Pope, it is as strong a proof, that the Pope himself was in subjection to other Bishops.

4. Nor is it to any more purpose, what our Author has collected touching the Popes hearing of Plaintiffs Causes, though he seems to lay a great deal of stress upon it. For what the Bishop of Rome did of this kind, he did either as the Emperors Delegate, or as an indifferent Referee, or as a Friend.

friendly *Neighbour*, whose Mediation and intercession in foreign parts ( especially when other *Bishops concurr'd* with him, as commonly they were wont ) might and did go a great way towards the Righting of those who were supposed to have been unjustly or hardly dealt with at home. But that Applications were made to him upon this ground, that he was the *sole Head* of the Catholick Church, and so might by virtue of his unlimited Judicial power, command Redresses to be made in any case, upon his own hearing of it, is more than our Author hath as yet proved, or is able to prove with the help of all his friends. And for the clearing of this, I shall,

1. Give our Author a *General* answer;

And then,

2. Consider the *particulars*, touching the *Applications* made to the Bishop of Rome by *Eustathius Sebastenus*, by *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, whose cases he is pleased to instance in.

1. Then in general, it is certain that every mans Cause was in those times to



to be heard and determin'd in his own *Province*, without any Liberty given him to appeal to any *foreign* Bishop whatsoever, as to a superiour Judge. This is proved already by the foregoing Historical account: but for your further satisfaction I shall referr you to the Learned Writer *Petrus de Marca* himself, whose observations had our Author read and considered, he would hardly have collected any thing of this nature, unless he had designed to abuse and impose upon his Readers *Ignorance*. For that Learned Writer doth of set purpose prove these Seven things, which utterly over-throw what the Author of the *Nubes Testium* drives at.

1. That all Causes Ecclesiastical were *anciently* determined by Definitive and Decretory sentences in Provincial Synods, as the supream Authority. 2. That when an Ecclesiastical person thought himself wronged by a Povincial Synod, though he had no power of *Appealing* from it, yet he might use his endeavours to get the actions of the Synod *review'd*. For that great man

*De Concord.  
Lib. 7. Cap. 1.  
2. &c.*

doth excellently distinguish between an *Appeal*, and a *Review*. An *Appeal* (saith he) is, when a Cause is entirely removed to the Cognisance of a superior Judge; but a *Review* is, when the Judgment of a Cause is left to the same Court to be reheard and re-considered, some other Judges being joined with those, who before past the Definitive sentence, for the reversing of it, in case upon a review, there appeared new and sufficient reasons for it. 3. That in order to such a review, Applications were wont to be made to the Emperor himself, until the time of the *Saraican* Synod, which was about Twenty years after that at *Nice*. 4. That though the *Sardican* Synod allowed Applications to be made to the Bishop of Rome (out of respect, as I suppose, to the Emperors quiet, and to save him a great deal of trouble and vexation) yet they gave him no power to decide or hear the Cause himself, but only that power of ordering a review, which the Emperors had. 5. That the Synod which granted the Pope this power, consisted but of Eighty *Western* Bishops. 6. That even

even this *little* power thus freely given by those *few* men, was not grounded upon any *right* the Bishop of Rome had to it, either from *Scripture*, or *Canon*, or so much as *Custom*, but a thing of *Courtesy* onely; and therefore it was put to the *Vote* in that Synod by *Hosius* and *Gaudentius*, If it please you, if it seem Can. 3. & 4. Synod. Sardic. good unto you, let us grant unto the Bishop of Rome, out of respect to *St. Peter's* Memory, &c. 7. That these Canons of the *Sardican* Synod were not receiv'd in the *Oriental* Churches, which still stood stiffly to it, that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any other Bishops of the *West* had any thing to do with the proceedings in the *East*, so as to overrule those *Determinations* which were made in *Provincial* Synods. These things are so strongly and evidently proved by *Petrus de Marca* himself, that every man of sense must rest satisfied in the ingenuous account he has given touching this point. And therefore, though our Author pretends by his Collections to prove, that in those ancient Times the Bishop of *Rome* had an unlimited

power over *Synods*, so that he could *re-scind* their actions *Authoritatively*, and as a supream *Judge*, yet what he saith, is nothing but *Banter*.

2. As for those particular *cases*, which he hath instanced in, if you consider them rightly, you may easily discover the fallacy. For what if *Eustathius Sebastenus* applyed himself to Pope *Libertius*? Doth this argue that he lookt upon him as the supream *Judge*? No surely; for it is notorious, and *Spondanus* himself doth acknowledge it, that he applyed himself also to several other Bishops in *Italy*, *France*, *Africk*, *Sicily*, and *Illyricum*, and that with Letters from all these he addrest himself to the Synod at *Tyana*, for his restitution to his Bishoprick: So that according to this rate, a great many other Bishops were supream *Heads* of the Church, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*.

As to the case of *Athanasius*, what if he applyed himself to Pope *Julius*, when he had been unjustly cast out of his Bishoprick by his enemies at the *Fyrian* Synod? Our Author doth acknowledge our

out of *Sozomen*, that *Julius* sent for *Athanasius* to *Rome*, because 'twas not safe for him to continue in *Egypt*: and cannot you invite any distressed man to your House for protection, but presently you must be his Judge? Again; what if *Julius* did afterwards cite him and his *Adversaries* to appear at *Rome*? This is no argument that he was by his Place and Office supream over all, but that he was onely an indifferent *Referee* in that particular Cause. For *Petrus de Marca* himself doth tell us, that the *Oriental Bishops*, who had deposed *Athanasius*, did by joint Consent refer the reviewing of the whole matter to the Bishop of *Rome*; and yet not to him onely, but to a Synod of *Western Bishops* together with him; and that Pope *Julius* called a Synod at the request of those who were *Legates* from the *Oriental Bishops*: So that all this was nothing but an *Arbitration*; nor was the Pope sole Arbitrator neither, but a great many other Bishops too were desired to be *Umpires* with him, because it was unreasonable that so great a man as *Athanasius*, Bishop

shop of so eminent a See as *Alexandria* was, should be deprived of his rights by a Factious party after a clandestine manner: For the removing of this Scandal, the whole business was by *Mutual Agreement* left to the consideration of a Synod at *Rome*; which argues not at all, that the *Pope* or *They* had an inherent Authority to Judge in that case; no more than it argues, that every select number of *Referees* and Arbitrators in *London*, have the decretive power of my Lord Chancellor in *Westminster-hall*.

I shall onely add, that our Author hath *perverted* the sense of Pope *Julius*, in translating his Epistle: For whereas he renders it thus, *Are you ignorant, that according to the receiv'd Custome, you ought first to have writ to us, that hence what was just might have been determin'd*; it ought to be translated according to the importance of the words in the Greek Copy, thus; *Are you ignorant that this is the Custome, first to write to us, that so afterwards things which are just may be determin'd*. Whence it appears, that all the right which

Ἡ ἀγνοία  
ἐστὶ τὸ το  
δοῦν ὡς, πρὸς  
ταῦτα γὰρ  
δαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι  
ἔτι τοῖς ἑστέον  
ἰερὰ δαὶ τὰ  
δίκαια.

which the Bishop of *Rome* claimed to the Complement of an *Epistle*, was grounded upon meer *Custom*; and that the consideration of *Athanasius* his case did belong not to him onely, but to other Bishops also, that Right might be done him (not hence, or from *Rome*, but) afterwards, by the concurrence and common Suffrage of all. And therefore *Petrus de Marca* reprehends Cardinal *Perron*, for abusing Pope *Julius*, and for perverting and wresting his sense, after the same fallacious manner, as our Author has done: And for his reprehension I referr him to that excellent Writer.

*De concord.*  
*Lib. 7. C. 4. § 8.*

I shall not need to detain you with a long answer to what he saith concerning *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and the rest, who were ejected as *Athanasius* was. For their case was the same with his; and several Bishops (and the Bishop of *Rome* among others) were pitcht upon by the Consent of all Parties to re-handle it; and impowered (as *Petrus de Marca* doth confess) to send for them to *Rome*, for the re-examination thereof: and all this doth.

Pag. 30.

*Ibid.* § 2.



doth amount to no more, than a friendly and neighbourly *Reference*. I shall onely note, that the Eastern Bishops were so far from owning any Authority in the Pope to *decide* the Controversie himself, that because he presumed so much as to receive *Athanasius*, and the rest into his Communion, before the Cause had been determin'd in a Synod of Western and Eastern Bishops too, they fell out with him horribly, and grew outrageous, as you may see in their Synodical Epistle, in *Binius*.

Much like to this was the Case of St. *Chrysostome*, which our Author doth instance in too, as if St. *Chrysostome*, being unjustly depos'd by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, had *Appealed* to the Bishop of *Rome*, as the supream Judge. But the vanity of all this is sufficiently proved by the ingenuous *Petrus de Marca*, who bestowes a whole Chapter upon this case onely; where he shews, that St. *Chrysostome* appeal'd, not to the *Pope*, but to a general *Council*; that he wrote indeed to the Pope, but not to him onely, but also to the Bishops of *Milan* and *Aquilea*; that

that the end of his writing was, that the *Italian* Bishops would *consent* to the calling of a *Council*, and would help to persuade the Emperors to call one, and that nothing can be drawn from St. *Chrysostome's* case to prove the Popes Supremacy. And the Truth is, St. *Chrysostome* disown'd the Jurisdiction of a foreign Bishop, as you may easily see by his Epistle to Pope *Innocent*. Therefore our Author *falsifies* the sense of St. *Chrysostome*; for towards the end of that Epistle he speaks, not to *Innocent* onely, but to other Bishops of *Italy* too, calling them his most honoured and Religious Lords: and that which he desires of them all, is, that they would write to *Theophilus* and the rest, to *convince* them, and let them know that such irregular proceedings as had been carried on by a Party against *Chrysostom*, when he was absent, and did not decline a fair Trial, ought to be lookt upon as null and void, as indeed they were in their own nature; and that such men ought to suffer according to

Chrys. Epist. ad  
Innocent. Tom 7.  
pag. 154. Ed.  
Savil.

Κύριοι με τιμωτάτοι καὶ ἐυλα-  
βοτάτοι ἐπισκοπῶν παρακλήθητε  
τὰ ὑμῶν ἔγω παραβῶν γε-  
νησθῆναι ἀπορίων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκ  
μῆτος μῆτις, καὶ παρρησιασμένων  
κρίσειν μετὰ ἐμὴν ἔχον ἰσχύ-  
ν ὥσπερ ἐδὲ ἔχει τῇ δικαίᾳ φύσει  
τῆς δὲ τοιαῦτα παρενομή-  
σαντας, ἐλεγχόμενος τῷ ἐπίτε-  
μιῳ ὑποβάλλεσθαι τῷ ἐκκλη-  
σιαστικῶν νόμων, &c.

*the Ecclesiastical Laws.* To which he adds a further request, that *Innocent* and the rest of his brother-Bishops would own him for a Brother; that he might receive communicatory Letters from them, and have their love, and the love of all others, as formerly he had. And what is all this to the supream and sole *Jurisdiction* of the Pope over all other Bishops? Suppose some eminent Divine of a Protestant Church abroad in *Denmark*, or elsewhere, should now be in *St. Chrysostome's* hard case, and should send to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the *English* Bishops, to declare their minds against the *uncanonical* Actions of his enemies, and to tell them that such proceedings were not *binding*, and that they would be pleased, till his cause was duely tryed, to let him continue in their good *esteem*, and to look upon him as a Brother, and vouchsafe him their love and *communion*; would this argue, that our Arch-bishop and his Suffragans, are the supream Heads of the *Catholick Church*?

4. By all this you may see, that those *Applications* which were upon occasion made to the Bishop of *Rome* by foreign Bi-

Bishops, are no good argument to prove that his unlimited power over all Churches, which is now contended for. Let us now consider the last point, whether any such thing can be concluded from those *Acts*, which did sometimes follow after such Applications. For the Author of *Nubes Testium* doth *Appropriate* divers acts to the Bishop of Rome, for which his Collections cannot bear him out. As, 1. The sole power of *deposing* other Prelates, that which was anciently the proper business of *Synods*, as *Petrus de Marca* abundantly shews, and which he confesses was not obtained by the Pope till about Eight hundred years ago. As for *Nestorius* ( whom this Author doth in-  
De Concord. l. 7.  
Cap. 1 § 7.
stance in ) he was Deposed by the *Ephesine* Council; nor was the Pope concern'd in it more than any other Bishop. Because he was such a notorious and obstinate Heretick, all the Bishops of the Catholick Church were engaged in a common cause against him. St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* would have Excommunicated him before, as he signified in his Epistle to Pope *Cælestine*, who in his Answer to

စာပေအုပ်စုတစ်  
ခု၏ တိုက်ရပ်ကွက်  
အုပ်ချုပ်ရေး ဦး  
ဆောင်မှုရှိရာ အုပ်-  
စု။ Ep. Cæ-  
lestine ad  
Cyril.

Eu-

*Eustathius, Athanasius* and the rest. But as for *Eustathius*, he was restored by the Synod at *Tyana*; and that at the instance, not of the Pope onely, but a great many other Bishops in *Italy, France, Africk, Sicily, and Illyricum*; nay, at the instance of the *Emperor* himself; for he went to that Synod with Letters from all these, as 'tis acknowledged. 'Tis true, the Western Bishops concurr'd, and gave occasion to the rest to do so too, for which *St. Basil* blames them. But if the Pope had the sole power in his hand, why did *Eustathius* go to any other? What need had he to give himself so much trouble, having once made a friend of the Pope? And as for *Athanasius*, and the other Eastern Bishops, who our Author saith Pag. 30, 31. were restored to their Sees, by Pope *Julius*, it is evident by the whole story, and honestly confest by *Petrus de Marca*, that De Concord.  
Lib. 7. C. 3. 7. their Restitution was decreed by the *Sar-dican* Council, and was actually procured and effected by the *Emperors* command. 'Tis true, Pope *Julius* receiv'd those Bishops into his *Communion*, because he believ'd they were unjustly depos'd by the  
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the *Arian* Faction. 'Tis true too, that he wrote into the *East* for the restitution of those Bishops: but 'tis as true, that he pretended not to any power of doing this *himself*, but that those great men ought not to be ejected without the knowledge and consent of *himself*, and other Bishops of the *East* and *West*. This *Petrus de Marca* proves undeniably, and quarrels with *Baronius*, *Bellarmino* and *Perron*, for wresting the sense of *Julius* his Epistle to their own Opinion (just as our Author hath done) And as touching *Sozomen's* words, which our Author quotes, that Learned Writer shews in the same place how they are *abused*; and that they are to be understood, not as if the restitution of those Bishops was effected *directly*, or by vertue of *Julius* his supream Jurisdiction, but by *Consequence* onely; that is, *Julius* his Example and Intercession had such an Influence upon other Bishops and the Emperors, that it become the means and occasion of the Restitution of *Athanasius* and his injured Brethren. And now what is all this to prove, the sole supream Authority of the Bishop of

*Ibid.* Cap. 4.



of Rome? Especially since *Athanasius* himself acknowledg'd, that he was restored by the suffrage of *no less than Three hundred forty and four Bishops*.

Sir, if you think I have been too prolix upon this Theme, I must intreat you to consider that it is one of the most Principal of those points which are in Controversie between Us, and the present *Roman Church*, and a point of great consequence. I hope that by what has been Written, you will be able rightly to understand those passages which the *Author* of the *Nubes Testium* hath collected upon this Head; and before I pass on to the the next point, I shall take notice but of Four passages more.

i. He saith, the *General Council of Chalcedon* own'd the *supream Authority* of the *Pope*; inasmuch as the chief accusation against *Dioscorus* was, that contrary to the *Tradition and Practice* of the *Church*, he had presumed to call a *Council*, without the consent of the *Bishop of Rome*; as appears from the words of *Lucentius, Legate from the See Apostolick*, Act. i. But this he falsifies wretchedly. For the Crimes alledged

ledged against *Dioscorus*, (Bishop of *Alexandria*) were, that he was a *Favourer* of the Heretick *Eutyches*, and was guilty of *Outrages* and *bloodshed*. This made the great Outcry in the Council, that he should be *turned out* of it. Indeed *Lucentius* (the Popes Legate) pleaded, that *Dioscorus* had called a Synod without the Popes Authority. But this allegation was not *admitted*, nor taken notice of by the Council; they required *Lucentius* to shew, *wherein* *Dioscorus* had *offended*? And when *Lucentius* *persisted* in his allegation, the Fathers *reprehended* him for *accusing* him; and so *Dioscorus* was commanded to *keep his place*; which he did till he was cast out for *other* reasons. If you consult the first action of the *Chalcedon-Council*, you will find what I say to be True; and by that you may judge, whether they look upon *Lucentius* his allegation to have been any *Crime* in *Dioscorus*, as this Author would make you believe.

2. He tells us, that the *Monks of Syria*, called *Hormisdas* the Pope, the Head of all. And can we believe, that those men, who were then persecuted by the *Eutychians*  
neg-

neglected by the Emperor, would apply themselves to *Hormisdas* without complementing him with an Honourable Title? Yet that Title imports no more, but that he was one of the principal Bishops of the Catholick Church; and such Titles were usually given to any very Eminent Bishop, especially if he was a Patriarch. For so *St. Basil* himself said of *Athanasius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that he had the care of all the Churches; and that he thought it most convenient for them to fly to him, as the Head of them all, and to make use of him as their Counsellor, as their Captain and Prince in the government of their affairs. What a noise should we have about our ears, had *St. Basil* said so much of the Patriarch of *Rome*? And yet *St. Basil* did not mean, that *Athanasius*, was the *supream Universal Pastor*. Basil. Ep. 52.

3. He saith, that the first Council at Constantinople desir'd their Decrees to be confirm'd by Pope *Damasus*; especially as to the deposing of *Timotheus*, an *Apollinarist*. But this doth not appear: for all that the Council required of him was, that he, being absent from the Council, would

concur with them in the condemnation of the Heretick. Now this was no argument of *Damasus* his *Supremacy*: For *all* Bishops were bound to do the same thing: *all* of them were engaged against an Heretick, as in a *common Cause*, and as against a *common Enemy*. Thus *Novatian* was excommunicated by several Synods in *Rome*, *Italy*, and *Africa*; nay, by all the Bishops over the World, as *Petrus de Marca* doth confess out of *St. Cyprian*. And the reason given is this, because *all the Bishops were but one body*; an Order of men that were *United together*; so that if an *Heretical Bishop* arose in any Province, *all the Bishops* were presently to lend their help and assistance against him. And besides, it is notorious, that by the Canons of the *Catholick Church*, no Bishop was to receive any man into his *Communion* that had been justly *Excommunicated* by another. So that when the Council of *Constantinople* requir'd *Damasus* (for that is the word) to concur with them against *Timotheus*, they onely requir'd him to observe the *Laws* and *Practise* of the whole *Catholick Church*. It was no token of his *Jurisdiction*

*De Concord.*  
*Lib. 7. C. 2.*

*dition* over them, but of his fraternal *Communion* and *Unity* with them.

4. Last of all, our Author produces the definition of the *Florentine Council*, that *the Holy Apostolick See, and Bishop of Rome has the Primacy over the whole World, &c.* But surely a man that entitles his book, *A Collection of the Primitive Fathers*, should have left out this Council, which was not Three hundred years ago, far from a Council of *Primitive* men. And as for those *Fathers* (if they must be called so) every one knows, that there were not *Thirty Greek Bishops* among them; nor were the *Latines* any other, than such as were packt and shuffled together, to play the *Popes Game* for him. Nor was the *Popes Primacy debated* at all among the *Legates*: No, the great business was about the manner of the *Procession* of the Holy Ghost: And when some of the *Greeks* were perswaded at last to subscribe to *that Article*, the poor *Greek Emperor* being wearied out by *delays*, subscribed the *Doctrines of Purgatory, of the Popes Primacy, &c. himself*, not so much as *imparting* the matter to the *Greek Legates*.  
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This was the fine Council of *Fathers*, whose definition our Author reckons among the rest; though perhaps with a design to make up that by *Tale*, which was wanting in *Weight*. I say no more of that Council, because you may see enough to invalidate the Authority of it, by that account which our Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* has given, out of *Sguropulus*, in his defence of the *Greek Church*. But having said thus much concerning this Controversie, I shall the next time endeavour to satisfy you in that point concerning *Images and Image-worship*, about which the next great Controversie was in the Ancient Church.

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**F I N I S.**

